

their effect with regard to the English Government, had been attended with no honour to the Mahratta State, and threatened to involve it in a war with Tippoo, of which the first movements were produced by a plan concerted with us, and our participation in it assured under a new engagement, but which they were now left to conduct by themselves. So strongly was Sindia impressed with these ideas that he thought it necessary to desire that a similar declaration should be given to him by the Board"* And although it was "contrary to the forms of our constitution which prescribed that all correspondence with the princes of India should be carried on through the Governor General singly,"* Hastings recommended the Board to authorise him to send Sindia in their name a written declaration to the same effect as that contained in his letter to him. With pardonable pride he informed the Board: "It is in some degree foreign to the present subject, yet I cannot refrain from imparting to you the pleasing satisfaction which I myself feel in observing the great and evident change that has within these few years taken place with regard to our Government in the opinions and dispositions of the principal powers of Hindustan. We seem now to have regained our proper weight in the political system, and the

* Secret Select Committee's Proc., 13th July 1784, Vol. III, page 105.

neighbouring States, who formerly shrunk from our advances, are eager to participate in our views, and to connect their interests with ours."*

The great change, to use his modest words, that had taken place was due to the courage and statesmanship of Hastings. Menaced by foes on all sides, ill-supported by his masters, surrounded by colleagues who thwarted, embarrassed and intrigued against him, he contrived by his individual energies to raise the Company from being a body of merchants and adventurers into the most powerful State in the politics of India. Englishmen have grown so accustomed to being the masters of India that they have not sufficiently realised the difficulty of Hastings' task, or the genius of the man whose far sight first saw and whose brave and confident patience realised this romantic idea of his country's greatness. As he told the House of Commons:—

"The valour of others acquired, I enlarged and gave shape and consistency to the dominion which you hold there; I preserved it; I sent forth its armies with an effectual but economical hand, through unknown and hostile regions, to the support of your other possessions; to the retrieval of one from degradation and dishonour; and of the other from utter

* Secret Select Committee's Proc., 13th July 1784, Vol. III, page 105.

loss and subjection. I maintained the wars which were of your formation, or that of others, not of mine. I won one member* of the great Indian confederacy from it by an act of seasonable restitution; with another† I maintained a secret intercourse, and converted him into a friend; a third‡ I drew off by diversion and negotiation, and employed him as the instrument of peace. When you cried out for peace, and your cries were heard by those who were the object of it, I resisted this, and every other species of counteraction, by rising in my demands, and accomplished a peace, and I hope everlasting, with one great State;§ and I at least afforded the efficient means by which a peace, if not so durable, more seasonable at least, was accomplished with another.||

“I gave you all, and you have rewarded me with confiscation, disgrace and a life of impeachment.”

* The Nizam.

† Moodajee Boosla.

‡ Mahadajee Sindia.

§ The Mahrattas.

|| Tippoo Sultan.

CHAPTER VII.

RESIGNATION AND RETURN TO ENGLAND.

At the time when Hastings was straining every nerve to baffle the foes of England in India, and his efforts were about to be crowned with success, news reached him of the severe censures which had been passed on his conduct by the Secret Committee of the House of Commons. This was speedily followed by intelligence of the subsequent resolution of the House that it was the duty of the Directors to recall him. The Court of Directors decided that it was expedient to remove him, but the Court of Proprietors rescinded their resolution. In December 1782 Hastings wrote a letter to Lord Shelburne, who had succeeded Lord Rockingham as prime minister, in which he vigorously defended his foreign policy. He stated with truth that the invasion of the Carnatic was due to a great confederacy against all the British Governments, and that he had no concern in the origin of the Mahratta war, but "the prosecution of it was mine, and the Malwa peace is exclusively mine." "Forgive me," he writes, "the boast when I add that I have been the instrument of rescuing one Presidency from infamy and both from annihilation." Fearing that his conduct at Benares might be misrepresented and misconstrued, he forwarded to Lord Shelburne a copy of the narrative which he had ordered to be print-

ed of what had taken place. "It may perhaps prove," he wrote, "a gratification of curiosity to your Lordship to receive a book which is, every process of it, the manufacture of the country." Hastings' fears were well-founded. Fox and Burke, annoyed at the Court of Proprietors' refusal to recall him, had begun to attack the Benares case with all the invectives they could command. In February 1782 took place the famous coalition between Fox and North, and the combined parties defeated the ministry on a motion concerning peace. The same month Hastings received a copy of the resolutions of the Court of Directors condemning his conduct in the affairs of Benares as a breach of treaty, and justifying Cheyt Sing. He regarded the resolution not only in the light of a personal insult, but as an incentive to the princes of India to throw off the authority of the Company and assassinate their servants. For the sake of his masters he had shrunk from no danger and no responsibility, and they had condemned him. It would have been more profitable to him to have followed a less arduous and safer course. The words he wrote to a friend reveal how deeply he felt the wrongs done to him :—

"I could have guarded myself most effectually against their censures by avoiding all responsibility, and covering

myself with their orders in whatever I did. I could have kept their troops and treasure at home, when the Presidency at Bombay was engaged in schemes to which it was confessedly unequal. I could have suffered the disgrace of the unhappy affair of Wargaum to remain an indelible stain on the British name. It was no concern of mine. I could have suffered the Carnatic to fall an easy prey to Hyder, when Francis opposed the measures which I suggested for its preservation, and I could have justified it on the principle of self-preservation, the prior care due to the first possessions of the Company, the want of authority from home, the season of the year which would render it an act of madness to send their troops to perish by sea, and by a fair estimate of ways and means, which would prove that we had not assets for such an enterprise. I could have acquiesced in the violations of faith, which the Government of Madras were guilty of towards Nizam Ali, and contented myself with protesting against it. I could have seen Chimnajee lay Bengal waste, for it was scarce in his power to avoid it, and nothing but my private aid prevented it. I could have sat quietly down when our ordinary resources would yield no more supplies for the war, and ruin threatened. What business had I at Benares?

"But if I had observed this discreet and safe conduct, let me ask not you, my friend, but my most rancorous enemies, what would have been the state of the Company, or whether it is likely that it would at this time have existence?"

"In the meantime I could have provided an ample fortune for myself, by means which no one could have assumed to hurt or discredit me."

✓ In a letter to the Court of Directors, Hastings carefully and eloquently reviewed his whole policy.

After apologizing for whatever might appear offensive in it, he declared that he should have submitted in silence to the severest expressions of censure had they been no more than expressions and applied to real facts. "But when the censures are not applied to real facts and are such as substantially affect my moral character, I should myself be an accomplice in the injury if I suffered the slightest imputation to remain which it was in my power to efface." He refuted by cogent arguments the statement that Cheyt Sing was an independent prince and that he was guilty of any breach of faith in his treatment of him. He then proceeded with great earnestness to deprecate the suggestion of the Court to restore Cheyt Sing, and declared that he would immediately resign if Cheyt Sing were reinstated at Benares. Then enlarging with considerable force on the services he had done the Company, and the patience and temper with which he had submitted to all the indignities which had been heaped upon him, he requested the Court to obtain the early nomination of a person to succeed him, and declared his intention to resign their service as soon as he could do it without prejudice to their affairs.

When Hastings wrote this letter, he fixed upon the beginning of the year for his departure to England, but shortly after despatching

it an event occurred which compelled him to alter his plans. The Nawab of Oudh and his ministers had appealed against the conduct of Mr. Bristow, the Resident, and "impelled me," wrote Hastings, "by every tie of justice, honour and public duty to sacrifice every consideration that regarded myself alone, if necessary, for his redress." It was a costly sacrifice, for it entailed upon Hastings separation from his wife. His love and admiration for her were unbounded. There was not such a being in the world, as long as she was by his side, nothing could come amiss to him : the cares and fatigues of the day made no impression on his spirits. When she had left he wrote : "I miss you in every instant and incident of my life, and everything seems to wear a dead stillness around me ; I come home as to a solitude." His greatest comfort in her absence was to read her letters. "It contains your words and your thoughts, and I had rather brood over the melancholy passions excited by it, than be a sharer in the most pleasing entertainments that nature or art could afford me." The only action in his lonely and stormy life concerning which a doubt seems to have ever crossed his mind was his resolve to part from her. "I think we have ill-judged. The reflection has often for an instant occurred to me that we were wrong, but I constantly repressed it. I urged everything that could

fix the resolution beyond the power of recall, and felt a conscious pride in the sacrifice I was preparing to make."* The state of his wife's health laid him under the stern necessity of sending her to England: the state of India compelled him to remain at his post. "I will resign this thankless office," said he, "on the first favourable opportunity; but I will not be driven from it either by the folly of my subordinates or the injustice of my superiors. I have saved India, in spite of them all, from foreign conquest, neither will I quit my post until the internal affairs of this great country shall have been restored to something like order." Bengal and Behar were threatened with famine, and Hastings appointed a committee to take measures for the relief of the people. He also applied the whole energies of his mind to the ever-ungracious task of retrenchment and reform. The state of affairs in Benares and Oudh caused him grave anxiety. He had always regarded Oudh as our bulwark against foreign aggression, and its prosperity and good government as essential to the safety of our own dominion. From the first moment that he had become Governor General he had courted an Oudh alliance with unceasing assiduity, and he had sedulously cultivated the friendship of the Nawab Shuja-Dowla and his son. "His titular rank of Vizier of the Empire," wrote

* "Echoes from Old Calcutta," page 302.

Hastings, "rendered him a conspicuous object of view to all the States and Chiefs of India, and on the moderation and justice with which the British Government in Bengal exercised its influence over him, many points most essential to its political strength and to the honour of the British name depended."* Hastings was of opinion that Bristow had treated the Nawab neither with moderation nor justice. When the latter met him at Chunar he had persuaded him to agree to the admission of the assistance of the Resident in the charge then specially given to his minister of his finances and public disbursements. Dissatisfied with the conduct of Mr. Middleton, to whom this charge was first committed, Hastings nominated Mr. Bristow to it in his stead. "To this I had various and powerful inducements. The principal was the reiterated order of the Court of Directors for his appointment ; secondly, the wish of the other Members of the Council urging it ; thirdly, their declaration of uniting to support my authority, and other concurrent circumstances, removing the objection which had hitherto opposed it ; fourthly, a reliance on the personal gratitude of Mr. Bristow for my optional nomination of him to so important a trust ; and fifthly, his assurances and a pledge given me for the performance

* Secret Select Committee's Proc., 29th September 1783, Vol. III, page 1018.

of them in which I then reposed a religious confidence."* This confidence, Hastings considered, Bristow had betrayed. He had enjoined him to study on every occasion to conciliate the good-will of the Nawab and "to show him every ostensible and external mark of respect," but the Resident treated the Prince as a dependant, and prescribed to him "the number of horses which he should be allowed to use and the dishes which should be cooked for his table."† He also interfered in every department of the State. The Nawab complained to the Board, and they requested Bristow to answer the charges brought against him. Six weeks having elapsed without a reply being received from him, Hastings moved that Bristow be recalled, the office of Resident dissolved, and the Nawab and his minister made responsible for the payment of the Company's debts. All the proposals were, after considerable discussion, rejected. Bristow in due course of time replied and alleged that he was only acting according to the orders of the Governor General, who insisted on the claims of the Company being satisfied. Hastings was a statesman who identified his own personality with the objects of his administration, and the defence of Bristow was regard-

* Secret, Select Committee's Proc., 29th September 1783, Vol. III, page 1019.

† Ditto ditto 27th December 1783, Vol. III, page 1045.

ed by him in the light of a personal insult. He was accustomed to command and to be obeyed. The temerity of Bristow aroused his anger, and the opposition of his colleagues increased it. He knew they did not possess the ability or the courage of his old opponents, and that they had only plucked up spirit to attack him when his recall was imminent. He felt that he had not that collected firmness of mind which he once possessed "and which gave such a superiority in my contests with Clavering and his associates. My last year's sickness has left a debility upon my constitution which I cannot remove, nor shall I, till I try a colder climate."* He however possessed a sufficient amount of the old imperious vigour to baffle the spirit of cabal in his Council. He told them that he held them solely responsible for the state of anarchy in Oude since they would neither enforce his instructions nor give Mr. Bristow others. This alarmed them. After many discussions they offered to recall Mr. Bristow if the Vizier liquidated his enormous debt to the Company by bills on creditable bankers "payable half in one month and the remaining half in two months from the date of Mr. Bristow's surrender of his office to the Vizier." And they added—"We shall agree to this arrangement on the express condition that the Governor General will hold himself re-

* *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, by Gleig, Volume III, page 122.

sponsible to the Company and the public for the faithful performance of these engagements on the part of the Vizier and his ministers, as well as for the security of the internal peace of the country, to maintain which and enforce these arrangements we shall give him our utmost support."* Hastings immediately replied, rejecting the offer. He pointed out that it was impossible for the Vizier to pay even half of the sum owed in the time mentioned, and he added—"Nor if the Nawab Vizier would engage to pay it and I believed him capable of paying it would I 'hold myself responsible to the Company and to the public for the faithful performance of such an engagement,' because I do not think it consistent with truth or the regard which every man ought to pay to his own reputation to bind himself to the performance of acts which depend solely on the ability and will of another."† His colleagues replied "that they could not imagine nor suggest that the Governor General should be answerable in his private fortune for so large a sum or that his responsibility should extend further than those obligations which constitute responsibility in a decided recommendation of any measure contrary to the general opinion of the majority of the Board."‡ Hastings

* Secret Select Committee's Proc., 27th December 1783, Vol. III, page 1050.

†	Ditto	ditto	page 1051.
‡	Ditto	ditto	page 1052.

gladly consented "to be specially answerable for the propriety of the measure," and the Board resolved to recall Bristow, and withdraw the Company's Residency from the Court of Oude. "I have indeed conquered," wrote Hastings, "but I feel little inclination to triumph in my victory; for my hands are yet fettered, and such is the wretched state of the Vizier's affair, that nothing can be more discouraging than the prospect before me. If the Nawab Vizier shall desire me to come to his assistance I shall offer it to the Board, and shall be better pleased if they refuse than if they assent to it. Yet I will do what I can to gain their assent."* A short time afterwards he informed a friend that he had written a minute tendering his services to go to Lucknow and he added—

"I know that I can do much more if I am myself the immediate agent, than I can by distant influence and a delegated authority, but I may fail, for most wretched is the state of the Vizier's dominions, and I may lose my reputation in the consequences of it. On the other hand, I may be the instrument of retrieving it and of paying the debt which is due from the Nawab to the Company, and if I do, I shall close my service with glory and leave a lasting good name behind me, whatever reproaches the inventive malice of my countrymen may cast upon me for having saved the national interests and honour from the ruin which, but for my exertions, would have fallen on both."†

* *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, by Gleig, Volume III, page 14.

†

Ditto

ditto

page 143.

The Council, after some discussion gave an unwilling assent to Hastings' proposal to proceed to Lucknow. In January 1784 his wife sailed alone for England, and in the following month he started on his journey to Oude. He made a stay of five days at Benares and sent to the Council a long and minute account of the wretched condition of that province.* "From the confines of Buxar to Benares," he wrote, "I was fatigued and followed by the clamours of the discontented inhabitants." Their discontent and distress was due to a long continued drought and to "a defective if not a corrupt and oppressive administration."† The land agents and tax gatherers exacted from the proprietors of the actual harvest a large increase in kind on their stipulated rent. Those who held their fields by the tenure of paying one-half of the produce of their crops were robbed of nearly the whole by false measurements, and from those whose engagements were for a fixed rent in money, the half or a greater proportion was taken in kind. Trade was paralysed by the extortion and oppression of the custom-house authorities. "The exorbitant rates," the Governor General wrote, "exact-ed by an arbitrary valuation of the goods, the prac-

* The minute will be found in Secret Select Committee's Proc., 20th April 1784, Vol. III, page 1082.

† Secret Select Committee's Proc., 20th April 1784. Vol. III, page 1082.

tice of exacting duties twice on the same goods, first from the seller and afterwards from the buyer, and the vexatious disputes and delays drawn on the merchants by these oppressions were loudly complained of, and some instances of this kind were said to exist even at the very time when I was in Benares. Under such circumstances we are not to wonder if the merchants of foreign countries are discouraged from resorting to Benares, and if the commerce of that province should annually decay."* Hastings forwarded to the Council an elaborate plan for reforming the administration, for making the Raja more directly interested in its working, and for the appointment of fresh officials. The Board resolved "that the Governor General be authorized to carry into execution the plan submitted, the Governor being responsible for its effects, as a temporary expedient."†

From Benares Hastings proceeded to Lucknow. He first devoted himself to the intricate task of adjusting the accounts between the Vizier and the Company. It was a matter to which he had devoted particular attention and he succeeded in persuading the Vizier to give his consent to an equitable arrangement. After adjusting the accounts, by wise handling of the finances and effecting considerable retrenchments he put

* Secret Select Committee's Proc., 20th April 1784, Vol III, page 1083.
 Ditto ditto 30th June 1784, Vol. III, page 1099.

the Nawab in a position to pay his debts. } He also took great trouble in arranging a revenue settlement for five years which would afford relief to the husbandmen suffering from years of scarcity. The military establishment of the Nawab had been both inefficient and costly and he placed it on a regular and economical basis. After leaving Lucknow he discovered that the Vizier suffered a hardship "from the army subsidy being kept up at its original rate although the number of troops employed by us for the defence of his dominions has been greatly reduced."* The reduction was due to the strength of each regiment being reduced from one thousand to seven hundred men. Hastings wrote: "Neither the Vizier nor any of his ministers have ever mentioned to me this deficiency, but it is not the less our duty to take it into consideration. In all our adjustments of accounts with the Vizier for many years back, we have been regulated by the strictest regard to justice, and the Vizier on his part has on every occasion relied most implicitly on our justice as well as on the accuracy of our Accountant-General. Let us then confirm that confidence which is so happily reposed in us by pointing out mistakes, even although we must be losers by correcting them."†

* Secret Select Committee's Proc., 1st November 1784, Vol. III, page 1113.

†

Ditto

ditto

ditto page 1114.

To remedy the injustice Hastings proposed that the cost of the regiment at Lucknow, for which the Vizier paid a separate amount, should be included in that of the troops for which the original subsidy was settled. The proposal was vetoed by the Council, and they also repealed the order given by Hastings that a costly detachment of the Company's troops stationed at the Nawab's expense upon his northern frontier should be recalled.*

Finding that his colleagues were bent on maintaining the detachment, Hastings asked their consent to the Nawab lending it to the son of the Moghul Emperor to assist him in the expulsion of the Sikhs from the territories of which they had lately possessed themselves in the neighbourhood of Delhi. The Governor General regarded the growing power of the Sikhs as a grave danger. He wrote—"A new source of serious contemplation has arisen from a nearer quarter, namely, that of the Sikhs, a people who from a mean sect of religious schismatics have rapidly grown into the members of a dominion extending from the most western branch of the Attock to the walls of Delhi. They are by their bodily frame and habits of life eminently suited to the military profession; but this

* Secret Select Committee's Proc., 1st November 1784, Vol. III, page 117.

propensity is qualified by a spirit of independence which is a great check to its exertion. Every village has its separate and distinct ruler acknowledging no control but that of the people of his own immediate community, who in their turn yield him little more than nominal submission."* Conquest and a man of superior capacity and enterprise aided by the spirit of religious enthusiasm might, however, weld them into a nation. The extinction of the Moghul Empire which was rapidly approaching to its fall he considered might give birth to a new dominion. "We are too apt," he wrote, "to despise the danger which we have not experienced, and to conclude that what has not happened in the ordinary course of events never will happen. On such a presumption my conclusions may expose me to the ridicule of those who may deem them the mere effusions of a wild imagination. I am willing to submit to this consequence if the events which I have foreboded shall be prevented by seasonable means of opposition; but I trust to time, and that not distant, for verifying my prediction if this people is permitted to grow into maturity without interruption."† Time verified the prediction. The genius of one man, the ruler of a petty tribe, welded the

* Secret Select Committee's Proc., 14th December 1784, Vol. III, page 124.

† Ditto ditto 11th May 1784, Vol. III, page 1090.

Sikhs into a great kingdom, and established a power greater than that of Sivaji and Hyder Ali against which we had to struggle for the mastery of India.

The Prince, whom Hastings was anxious to aid in a campaign against the Sikhs, had escaped in disgrace from the court of Delhi. The Moghul Emperor, his father, was a mere puppet in the hands of his Minister Afrasiab Khan. Afrasiab Khan had offered to enter, under the name and sanction of the Emperor, into a treaty with the English and the Vizier, but Hastings rejected the offer because "so far from promoting the wishes of the King, we should have to encounter the secret opposition of himself and his ancient servants, and perhaps the declared enmity of many other factions now lying dormant."* The Governor General had, however, expressed the opinion "that it would be for the credit and interest of the English Government to exert their endeavours to relieve the Shah from the thralldom of his ministers and to establish his authority at least in his dominions," and when the fugitive Prince prayed his assistance, he was not unwilling to grant it. He wrote—"Fallen as the House of Timur is, it is yet the relic of the most illustrious line of the Eastern World; its sovereignty is universally acknowledged, though the

* Secret Select Committee's Proc., 11th May 1784, Vol. III, page 1089.

substance of it no longer exists, and the Company itself derives its constitutional dominions from its ostensible bouny." The wretched state of the House of Timur appealed to his imperial imagination, and he considered it not only a generous, but a wise policy to prevent its extinction. In the confusion which was certain to follow its fall he considered some new adventurer might start up from the general mass who would constitute a new dominion and join to it all the powers and prerogatives of the past. Hastings felt that those who had the Moghul Emperor in their hands must become the legitimate masters of India, and he wished to gain for his country that position. "I do not want to send armies into the field," he wrote, "nor to disturb the repose which our Government enjoys and requires, after the fatigues and bruises which it has sustained from a long and accumulated warfare. I want no more than the power to dictate, and I am persuaded that I shall have no need to enforce it."* The Board, however, were unwilling to adopt so bold a policy and refused to countenance any expedition in favour of the Moghul Emperor.

Not only by arms and by diplomacy did Hastings extend the influence of England, but also by commerce. It was his capacious mind that

* Memoirs of Hastings, by Gieg, Volume III, page 193.

first conceived the plan of opening friendly commercial intercourse between the people over whom he ruled and the natives of the lofty tableland behind the snowy peaks to the north. He had when Governor of Bengal begun a friendly correspondence with the rulers of Thibet and Bhutan, and on the 13th of May 1774 he sent the first British mission to Thibet under Mr. George Bogle. On the 26th of February 1775, the Governor General laid before the Board a letter from Bogle informing them of his interview with Teshoo Lama, and an interesting memorandum on the trade of Thibet. "The principal articles of merchandise," he writes, "between Bengal and Thibet are broadcloth, attar, skins, neel (indigo), pearls, coral, amber, and other beads, chauk, spices, tobacco, sugar, Malda stripped sattins and a few white cloths, chiefly coarse; the return is made in gold dust, musk and cow-tails."* When Bogle returned from Thibet, he found Francis, Clavering, and Monson in power, and as he was a *protégé* of Hastings, he could expect no favour from them. The changes made in the administration had deprived him of all his appointments, and he had no employment but to act as one of Hastings' assistants. In December 1775 the Governor General proposed that Bogle be allowed a salary of ₹1,200 a

* Secret Select Committee's Proc., 24th February 1775, Vol. I, page 254.

month during the time he was employed on the mission, and the motion was carried. It was a small sum considering the good work done and the amount which men situated like Bogle made in those days. When Hastings on the death of Monson regained his power, he once more turned his attention to establishing free commercial intercourse between Thibet and Bengal. On the 9th of April 1779 George Bogle was appointed to proceed again to Bhutan and Thibet "for the purpose of cultivating and improving the good understanding subsisting between the Chiefs of those countries and the Government, and to endeavour to establish a free and lasting intercourse of trade with the Kingdom of Thibet, and the other States to the northward of Bengal." The Lama, whose respect and confidence Bogle had won, was then on a visit to Peking, and he desired Bogle to go round by sea to Canton, promising to obtain the Emperor's pass for him to proceed and join him in the capital. The death of the Lama and of Bogle caused for a time the intention of sending a mission to be abandoned. But when Hastings got letters from Thibet informing him that the soul of the late Lama had entered and animated the body of an infant, he proposed to send a second deputation^a to Thibet. The Board consented, and Mr. Charles Turner was appointed to proceed on the mission. On his

journey to Lucknow Hastings met at Patna Turner returning from Thibet, who handed him a report on the results of his mission and also a narrative of his interview with the young Lama.* "Teesho Lama," he wrote, "is at this time about eighteen months of age. He did not speak a word but made most expressive signs and conducted himself with astonishing dignity and decorum. His complexion is of that hue which in England we should term rather brown but not without colour. His features good, small black eyes, an animated expression of countenance, and altogether I thought him one of the handsomest children I had ever seen."† The description of the interview between the English Envoy and the Great Lama, the high priest of millions of beings, is inexpressibly sad. "The little creature turned, looking steadfastly towards me with the appearance of much attention while I spoke, and nodded with repeated but slow movements of the head as though he understood and approved every word but could not utter a reply. The parents, who stood by all the time, eyed their son with a look of affection, and a smile expressive of heartfelt joy at the propriety of the young Lama's conduct. His whole

* Account of an embassy to the Court of the Teeshoo Lama in Thibet, by Captain Samuel Turner.

† Secret Select Committee's Proc., 13th April 1784, Vol. III, page 1077.

regard was turned to us, he was silent and sedate, never once looking towards his parents, as if under their influence at the time, and with whatever pains his manners may have been formed so correct, I must own his behaviour on this occasion appeared perfectly natural and spontaneous, and not directed by any action or sign of authority." * The next day the envoy again visited Teesho Lama to present some curiosities he had brought for him. "He was very much struck with a small clock and had it held to him watching for a long time the revolutions of the minute hand. He admired it, but with gravity, and without any childish emotion." † When he paid his last visit to the Lama, Turner "received his despatches for the Governor General and from his parents two pieces of satin for the Governor with many compliments. They presented me with a vest lined with lamb-skins, making me many assurances of a long remembrance, and observing that at this time Teesho Lama is an infant and incapable of conversing, but they hoped to see me again when he shall come of age. I replied that by favour of the Lama I might again visit this country." † Turner never had another opportunity of visiting the country

* Secret Select Committee's Proc., 13th April 1784, Vol. III, page 1080.

† • Ditto ditto • ditto page 1081.

and no English official has since held personal intercourse with the rulers of Thibet. So completely was the policy of opening commercial intercourse between India and the trans-Himalayan regions abandoned that the very history of the Hastings' negotiations was forgotten, and most of the valuable records of the Thibet and Bhutan missions have been lost.*

The expeditions of Bogle and Turner to Thibet were not the only voyages of discovery which Hastings despatched. He caused the harbours and rivers of Cochin China to be surveyed, and directed the explorer to penetrate as far as he could into the interior. He also had the shores of the Red Sea explored, with the view of opening, by that line, a more direct and rapid communication between England and India. He also collected much valuable information regarding the Kingdom of Ava and its adjoining districts. His untiring energy led him not only to explore the countries of the East, but also the languages of Asia. He was familiar with Arabic and Persian. Though unacquainted with Sanskrit he encouraged learned pundits to settle in Calcutta, and gave them support

* Narrative of the mission of George Bogle to Thibet, by Clements R. Markham. Mr. Markham writes—"All attempts to find adequate materials among the records at Calcutta or the India Office have failed." A note in the Consultations informs us that the original journal was sent to the Directors. I however hope that a careful search among the bundles in the Foreign Office may yet bring to light a copy of the journal.

while they pursued their researches. The Asiatic Society and the Mahomedan College at Calcutta are splendid monuments of his zeal for the advancement of Oriental learning and education.

The time was drawing near for him to leave the land for whose welfare he had laboured with unwearied energy. In November 1784 Hastings returned to Calcutta from Lucknow. On his journey down he received letters from home announcing that Pitt had dissolved Parliament, and that the coalition party had been defeated at the elections. Major Scott told him that the Lord Chancellor considered that the ministry ought to give him a peerage and a red ribbon, and that His Lordship did not know a man who cut so great a figure upon the stage of the world as Hastings. To his other extraordinary actions must be added that of giving a ministry to Great Britain, for he had put an end to the late ministry as completely as if he had taken a pistol and shot them through the head one after another. Pitt had also declared that he looked upon Hastings to be a very great and indeed a wonderful man. The news of the downfall of his foes, and the flattering terms in which the new ministers spoke of him, led Hastings to hope that he would be permitted to pursue his policy without interruption from home, or obstruction from his colleagues. He wrote to his wife: "I

shall abide by the resolution which I communicated to you in my letter of the 24th of September, that is to say, if I am required by authority to stay, and have the powers given me which ought to belong to my office, and proper objects are assigned for my stay, I will stay, however repugnant it may be to my own feelings, or hazardous to my health." Hastings had about this time also heard of Pitt's intention to introduce an East India Bill, and he trusted that it would grant him the powers he had so long desired. On the 20th of December he received a packet "by way of Bussorah," which put an end to all his hopes and hesitations. It brought him a copy of Pitt's Bill and of his introductory speech which Hastings considered more inimical to him than all the onslaughts of Fox and Burke. On the 27th December he wrote: "I have seen, read, and abstracted Mr. Pitt's Bill. It has determined me. I shall make an early trial of my colleagues on the affairs of Oude and if they will engage to abide by my engagements there, I will depart as soon as the *Barrington* is ready. She is now loading." The dream of his life was shattered; and in the account of his stewardship which he wrote on his voyage home he poured out his feelings. "Yet may I feel a regret to see that hope which I had too fondly indulged, and which I had sustained during thirteen laboured years with a perseverance against a succession of difficulties

which might have overcome the constancy of an abler mind, of being in some period of time, however remote, allowed to possess and exercise the full powers of my station, of which I had hitherto held little more than the name and responsibility; and to see with it the belief, which I had as fondly indulged, that I should become the instrument of raising the British name, and the substantial worth of its possessions in India, to a degree of prosperity proportioned to such a trust, both vanish in an instant, like the illusions of a dream; with the poor and only consolation left me of the conscious knowledge of what I could have effected, had my destiny ordained that I should attain the situation to which I aspired, and that I have left no allowable means untried, by which I might have attained it."

On the 13th of January 1785 Warren Hastings delivered to the Board a minute in which he informed them of his intention to relinquish the service, if his colleagues would give him an absolute and unqualified promise to carry out the late arrangements made with the Nawab Vizier. Having received from his colleagues an explicit answer agreeing to abide by the agreement, he wrote a formal resignation of his powers to his old masters. He told them with perfect truth that no man ever served them with a zeal superior to his own.

On the 1st of February Hastings attended for the last time a meeting of the Council over which he had presided for thirteen years, and after wishing his colleagues a warm farewell and paying a handsome tribute of praise to those who had aided him in the heavy task of government, he surrendered the keys of office and brought to a close his great administration. Had he been guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, so unwearied was the pertinacity and malice of his enemies, that it cannot be doubted they would have been able to furnish more satisfactory evidence of his guilt. Of that guilt they never produced any proof. In answer to the charge of having oppressed the natives by extortions and exactions, there are the testimonials of all ranks of people in India in his favour. As he told his Judges: "It is very seldom that mankind are grateful enough to do even common justice to a fallen minister; and I believe there never was an instance in the annals of human nature, of an injured people rising up voluntarily to bear false witness in favour of a distant and persecuted oppressor." Burke told the House of Lords that the testimonials were extorted, and "that the hands were yet warm with the thumbcrews that had been put on them." It is incredible that Hastings' successor, Lord Cornwallis, a man of the noblest and gentlest character, would have countenanced acts of oppression and cruelty to gain petitions

in favour of Hastings. In fact, when Hastings' attorney informed him that the natives of India were desirous of bearing testimony to the merits of Hastings, and requested permission that the officers of Government might have authority to transmit to the Governor General in Council any testimonials tendered by the natives, Lord Cornwallis caused a cautious letter to be circulated among all the Collectors and Residents, which stated: "With this request the Governor General in Council has been pleased to comply, and I have therefore to inform you, that should any such address be tendered to you, you are at liberty to receive and forward them to me. The liberty now accorded is merely to receive and transmit testimonials when voluntarilly offered; and you are not to deduce any inference from it that you are authorised to exercise any further interference in this business."* Macaulay, while admitting that Hastings was beloved by the people whom he governed, attaches little or no importance to the addresses because they may have been due to the influence of English officials. However, we find in the case of Benares that the Resident,

* "Debates of the House of Lords on the events delivered on the trial of Warren Hastings, Esquire. Proceedings of the East India Company in consequence of his Acquittal and Testimonials of the British and Native Inhabitants of India relative to his character and conduct whilst he was Governor General of Fort William in Bengal."—*Debrett MCCXCVII.*

Jonathan Duncan,* a man conspicuous for his courage and high mindedness, refused to forward the addresses to Government on the ground that "as the addresses have no connection with the business of the Company there is no necessity that they (the inhabitants) should come or send to me. Let them do what they think proper." In their address the inhabitants of Benares stated: "He laid the foundations of justice and the pillars of the law. In every shape, we, the inhabitants of this country, during the time of his administration, lived in ease and peace. We are therefore greatly satisfied with, and thankful to him. As the said Mr. Hastings was long acquainted with the modes of government in these regions, so the inmost purpose of his heart was openly and secretly, indeed, bent upon those things which might maintain inviolate our religious advances, and persuasions, and guard us in even the minutest respect from misfortune and calamity. In every way he cherished us in honour and credit." The Pundits and other Brahmins of Benares sent him an address in which they wrote: "Whenever that man of vast reason, the Governor General, Mr. Hastings, returned to this place, and people of all ranks were assembled, at that time he

* Jonathan Duncan became Governor of Bombay in 1795, and, after having ruled the Presidency with great wisdom for fourteen years, he died on the 11th of August 1811, beloved by men of all classes and creeds.

gladdened the heart of every one by his behaviour, which consisted of kind wishes, and agreeable conversation, expressions of compassion for the distressed, acts of politeness, and a readiness to relieve and protect every one alike without distinction. To please us dull people, he caused a spacious music gallery to be built, at his own expense, over the gateway of the temple of Veesmaswar, which is esteemed the head jewel of all places of holy visitation. He never at any time, nor on any occasion, either by neglecting to promote the happiness of the people, or by looking with the eye of covetousness, displayed an inclination to distress any individual whatsoever." The inhabitants of Moorshedabad also forwarded an address, in which they stated that "the whole period of Mr. Hastings' residence in this country exhibited his good conduct towards the inhabitants. No oppression nor, tyranny was admitted over any one. He observed the rules of respect and attention to ancient families. He did not omit the performances of the duties of politeness and civility towards all men of rank and station when an interview took place with them. In affairs concerning the government and revenues, he was not covetous of other men's money and property; he was not open to bribery. He restricted the farmers and officers, in their oppressions in a manner that prevented them from exercising that tyranny which motives of

self-interest and private gain might instigate them to observe towards the ryots and helpless. He used great exertions to cultivate the country, to increase the agriculture and the revenues. He transacted the business of the country and revenues without deceit, and with perfect propriety and rectitude. He respected the learned and wise men, and in order for the propagation of learning he built a college, and endowed it with a provision for the maintenance of the students, in so much that thousands reaping the benefits thereof offer up their prayers for the prosperity of England, and for the success of the Company." Quotations of a similar nature from other addresses might be multiplied to any extent. But addresses are not the only evidence we have of the honour and esteem in which Hastings was held by the natives of India. Burke declared in Westminster Hall that under the government of Mr. Hastings the country itself, all its beauty and glory had ended in a jungle for wild beasts.* A Brahmin pilgrim on the banks of the Nerbudda declared that "he had lived under many different Governments and travelled in many countries, but had never witnessed a general diffusion of happi-

* "My Lords, you have seen the very reverse of all this under the government of Mr. Hastings; the country itself, all its beauty and glory ending in a jungle for wild beasts. You have seen flourishing families reduced to implore that pity which the poorest man and the meanest situation might very well call for."—*Burke's Speeches and Correspondence, Volume II, page 438.*

ness equal to that of the natives under the mild and equitable administration of Mr. Hastings.* The testimony of the Brahmin pilgrim was confirmed by Lord Cornwallis, who said in the course of his evidence before the House of Lords that Hastings was much esteemed by the natives: and Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), "a man of whose integrity, humanity, and honour it is impossible to speak too highly,"† deposed to the same effect.

In answer to the charge that he violated treaties and disregarded the legitimate rights of Native Chiefs, we have the letters of two of the leading native sovereigns to his successor requesting to be treated by him as they were treated by Hastings. There are also letters from the sovereign of Berar, from the Nizam, from Mahdagie Scindia to the King and the Company expressing their strong sense of his justice and good faith. His tender regard for the rights and feelings of the Native Chiefs is testified in the strenuous battle he fought for the Nawab of the Carnatic and the

* Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, Volume II, page 70.—"I cannot forget the words of this respectable pilgrim; we were near a banian tree in the Darbar court when he thus concluded his discourse:—"As the burr-tree, one of the noblest productions in nature, by extending its branches for the comfort and refreshment of all who seek its shelter, is emblematical of the deity, so do the virtues of the Governor resemble the burr-tree; he extends his providence to the remotest districts, and stretches out his arms, far and wide, to afford protection and happiness to his people; such, *Sahib*, is Mr. Hastings."

† Macaulay's Essay on Warren Hastings.

Vizier of Oude. 'That he was lofty and imperious with those who were disloyal, that he could brook no opposition to his will, may be admitted. But that he was kind and considerate to those who were loyal, and a generous master to those who served him, there are numerous indications in his letters and despatches. He saw that the power of England must be paramount in India, and for the honour and greatness of his country he strove with unwearied energy and unflinching courage, but he also desired that the paramount power should be surrounded by loyal feudatories allowed to govern their States without interference as long as they regarded the welfare and prosperity of their subjects.

Absorbed in the work of legislation and administration, in negotiating treaties, organising armies, and sending forth expeditions, Hastings had scanty leisure to devote to his own affairs, and he proved a poor steward of his private fortune. He told his Judges: "I was too intent upon the means to be employed for preserving India to Great Britain from the hour in which I was informed that France meant to strain every nerve to dispute that empire with us, to bestow a thought upon myself or my own private fortune." It would have been better for his reputation had he bestowed more time on the regulation of his household, and had been less lavish in his expenditure, and

had curbed his generosity. But during his trial it was clearly shown that the charge of having contaminated his hands with unlawful gain was wholly without foundation. It is not, however, by evidence produced at his trial that Hastings has been judged, but the calumnies of political opponents and the exaggerations of fervent orators have been accepted without examination or discrimination. The load of obloquy resting on his memory has in some degree been removed by clearer and juster views of the events of his time and the character of the man who did good service for his country and the land in which he toiled for five and thirty years. His fair fame will not suffer from an examination still more rigid and dispassionate, and for this examination authentic materials are supplied in the State papers that have recently been printed.*

* Selections from the letters, despatches and other State papers preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1777-85.

APPENDIX I.

Translation of the Agreement given by HAFIZ RAHMUT CAWN to the Vizier.

As the Vizier of the Empire the Nabob Sujah-ul-Dowla will put the Rohilla Sirdars in full possession of their country it is at his own option to effect it either by peace or war. Should the Mahrattas at this time, without coming to an engagement or peace being established, cross the river and retreat owing to the rainy and after season, and after that is elapsed commit disturbances in the country of the Rohillas, the quelling of these disturbances shall belong to the Vizier. The Rohilla Sirdars after the aforesaid business do agree to pay the sum of 40 lacs of rupees on the following terms, *viz.* : As the Mahrattas are now committing disorders in the country of the Rohillas, the Vizier shall march from Shahabad to such place as may be thought proper to arrive at in order that the Rohilla dependants may come out of the jungles and arrive at their own homes. The sum of ten lacs of rupees shall then be paid in ready money in part of the stipulation, and 30 lacs of rupees shall be discharged in three years, beginning from the Fusselly year 1180. This agreement is sealed in the presence of General Sir Robert Barker.

From HAFIZ RAHMUT CAWN, Chief of the Rohillas, to the Governor.

After the usual compliments, and expressing his desire of an interview, he proceeds: The bonds of friendship and

affection, and the mutual intercourse which have long subsisted and taken root between me and the English Sirdars may not be unknown to you. Having heard of your fame, I wish that a perfect harmony and concord should be established and confirmed between us; and I hope that you will have the same inclination on your part. It is from these motives, as well as in consideration of there being no difference or disagreement between us, that I represent to you the following few circumstances that you may have them in your memory at the time of discussion.

Last year, when His Majesty and the Mahratta Sirdars were at variance with the Nabob Zabitta Cawn, and when, after confusion was thrown into that Nabob's affairs, His Majesty and the Mahrattas crossed the Ganges to come into these parts, the Rohilla Sirdars, for the protection of their women, fled to the skirts of the jungles; at this time the Vizier of the Empire and General Barker arrived at Shahabad, and sent Captain Harper to me with a message to me to come and join them, which they persisted in with great perseverance. As our interests were equal, I therefore went and had an interview with the gentlemen, when an agreement was concluded between us, in which I agreed to pay 40 lacs of rupees on account of peshcush to the King and the Mahratta Sirdars, and the gentlemen on their part engaged to effect my security, by establishing peace between me and the King and the Mahratta Sirdars, declaring that if they would in a day or two after that march from Shahabad to fall upon and come to extremities with the Mahrattas, and to put an end to their operations. Notwithstanding this, the gentlemen never came to any negotiation with the Mahrattas so as to put an end to their operations, nor ventured to attack them, but finally returned towards

Fyzabad, leaving their engagements unfulfilled. When the rainy season commenced, the Mahrattas of themselves crossed the Ganges and encamped in the Doab, threatening me still with hostilities. During the rains I repeatedly called on the Nabob, the General, and Captain Harper to conclude these affairs with His Majesty and the Mahrattas, but they came to no determination on the subject, nor took any measures for effecting security. When the rainy season was drawing to an end, and the Mahrattas had approached near the banks of the Ganges, they then demanded of me sums of money, which after much temporizing I was at last obliged to pay them. Afterwards they went to the presence, and procured a sunnud for Corah and Allahabad, with which they returned to the bank of the Ganges and made preparations of bridges for crossing it; and at the same time sent a person of their confidence to demand payment of the money which had been stipulated, saying it belonged to them and the King; and also with many inducements requested that I would let them pass through my territories, assuring me that they would commit no depredation or ravages on the rayats, and they would pass through with expedition towards the Soubah of Oude, or withersoever they thought proper. They also engaged to remit me a large sum on account of the stipulation, and to do whatever was agreeable, and would give satisfaction to the Rohilla Sirdars. At this juncture the Nabob and the General being arrived near, they sent to me Syed Shaw Muddun and Mahomed Mukrim Cawn, desiring that I would enter into no terms with the Mahrattas; and they would give me back my engagement for 40 lacs of rupees, and do everything both for my present and future security. Having therefore in view the long friendship which had subsisted between the Nabob Vizier, the English gentlemen and myself, I declined all

officers made by the Mahrattas, and came over to them, in revenge for which it is well known that the Mahrattas recrossed the Ganges and plundered Moradabad and Sumbul. The gentlemen promised that they would cross and cantone on the other side of the Ganges during the rains, and would not return to Fyzabad or Calcutta until they had entirely driven away the Mahrattas, and fully satisfied themselves both with respect to their own and my security. But at length they left everything unfinished ; and after temporizing for a long time with the Mahrattas returned to their own homes, leaving me still a prey to the Mahrattas. You are no doubt acquainted with all these proceedings. It is a point which requires justice and consideration. As a friendship has long been established between us, I doubt not but you will at all times and on all occasions wish to preserve it. Other particulars the Major will inform you of.

The Vizier's Narrative of the Behaviour of the Rohillas.

The case of the Rohillas is as follows:—That from the beginning to this time I have treated them with friendship and attention, and on their part I have met with nothing but ill-treatment, treachery, and a breach of faith. Accordingly when the Mahrattas marched with a large army against Najib-ul-Dowla and the Rohilla Sirdars and besieged Najib-ul-Dowla in Sukertaul, and Hafiz Rahmut, Doondee Cawn, and the rest at Jellabad, where they reduced them to the greatest straits and difficulties, if I had not assisted them, they would all have been ruined and deprived of their women, country, and government. But, by the favour of God I afforded them at that time such assistance that the Mahrattas were put to flight, and took their route to the Deccan, and the

territory, property, and women of the Rohillas remained in security. Again, the year before last, when the Mahrattas advanced their troops against the Rohillas, Zabitta Cawn received a total defeat ; and Hafiz Rahmut and the others being unable to oppose them, took shelter with their women at the foot of the hills, where, if I had made 10 days' delay, they would all have perished by the bad water and unsalutary air. By the favour of the Almighty I went with the English troops to Shahabad and stopped the approach of the Mahrattas, and sometimes using authority and menaces, and sometimes friendly mediation and temporizing, according to the circumstances, I caused them to pass the Ganges ; and releasing from confinement delivered to Zabitta Cawn the daughter of Ally Mahomed Cawn, a principal Chief of the Rohillas, and nine of the women and daughters of Najib-ul-Dowla and the wife and son of Zabitta Cawn, together with 400 women the Mahrattas had taken prisoners. I also called to me Hafiz Rahmut Cawn and the others who had taken protection under the hills, and replaced them on their former footing in the possession of their country. My friend General Barker is well acquainted with these circumstances, in whose presence they entered into an engagement for the payment of 40 lacs of rupees, and pledged their faith and religion for its performance. In the sequel they did not remain steady to this agreement, but in the height of the rains, antecedent to every other person, Zabitta Cawn first went and connected himself with the Mahrattas, and Hafiz Rahmut Cawn sent the holy Coran, which contains the religion of the Mussalmen, to the Mahrattas as a token of his friendship. He also gave them five lacs of rupees and established a friendship and good understanding with them. The whole world are well acquainted that envoys from Hafiz Rahmut were with the Mahrattas,

and treated with them in the above manner. Myself, continuing firm and steady to my engagements, I proceeded in concert with the English troops from Fyzabad to the assistance of the Rohillas and arrived by successive marches to Ramgaut. I previously acquainted Hafiz Rahmut Cawn that he should make preparation, and that I should shortly arrive and act in conjunction with him. As Hafiz Rahmut Cawn had entered into intrigues with the Mahrattas, notwithstanding I was near him, and the Mahrattas at a considerable distance, he nevertheless under various pretensions and evasions drew near the Mahratta army to such a degree that the morning when I arrived with the English forces, and came upon the Mahrattas, Hafiz Rahmut Cawn was within 7 or 8 coss of them, when from necessity only he came and waited on me. I am certain that if I had been 4 gurrries later with the English forces, he would have joined the Mahrattas and fallen upon me; and that only from my near approach he was compelled to come to me. Afterwards when the Mahrattas could not face the English forces and myself, and set out for the Deccan, Hafiz Rahmut Cawn did not pay me a single daam on account of the agreement executed in presence of the General as aforementioned, nor did he treat me with that respect, or present me with the customary presents, which are used amongst mankind as marks of friendship and hospitality. The heavy burthen of increased expense which I have sustained, both on account of my own troops and those of the English, are as evident as the sun at noon-day. I made no use of menaces concerning taking the money by force, otherwise, had I been so inclined, I could have taken it in the space of a day. I passed the matter over and took no notice of it, and on their part pleaded excuses, evasions, and delays. They even encamped at 3 or 4 coss distance

from mine and the English army, with an intention to come to a battle should I insist on the payment of the money. Of the truth of this every gentleman that was with me can witness. My mentioning it is unnecessary. In short, the Rohillas have been guilty of treachery, baseness, and a breach of faith, and have paid no regard either to their oaths or agreements. I have notwithstanding hitherto put up with this behaviour, but can do it no longer. To oblige them to make reparation is expedient and just.

(A true translation.)

WILLIAM REDFEARN,

Persian Translator.

APPENDIX II.

The following letter is not in the Foreign Office Records but is printed in the Minutes of the Evidence taken before the House of Commons.

Then the following extract of a letter to the witness, dated Fort William, 1st July 1774, signed Warren Hastings, W. Alderfey, P. M. Dacres, and entered in No. 27 of the Appendix to the said report, was read to the witness, *vis.* :—

‘ The intemperate and tyrannical conduct of the Vizier after his conquests, as you have represented, cannot fail to prove highly dissatisfactory to us ; and although we do not regard ourselves either as answerable for his actions, or obliged absolutely to interfere for restraining them, yet we should have been glad to have been furnished with such materials as would enable us, upon good grounds, to expostulate with him on the injustice and impropriety of such a conduct. It was in this view that we requested you to acquaint us with the instances of his cruelties ; but we confess ourselves exceedingly disappointed, in receiving instead of a precise account of facts, only three letters of loose declamation, which, however, pathetically written, contain not one single instance of the Vizier’s particular cruelty towards the family of Hafiz ; and indeed express only such sentiments as we can easily conceive to exist in the breasts of that unfortunate family from reflecting on the sad reverse of their fortune alone without supposing any peculiar hardship in their case, or uncommon act of oppression in the Vizier : for this reason, we repeat our desire to be furnished with a particular account of the treatment

which the family of Hafiz Rhamet has received, and we shall then take such steps for their relief as the circumstances shall require. In the meantime, we hope that the remonstrances which the President informs us he has directed the Resident to make to the Vizier, on this subject, will be sufficient to render any more direct interposition needless.

Then the witness (Colonel Champion) was asked :—

Did you receive a letter from the Governor and Select Committee, of the 1st July 1774, containing that paragraph?

I believe I did.

Whether you in answer to that letter, sent any such particular account, as was desired by the Governor and Select Committee, of the treatment which the family of Hafiz Rhamet had received?

In answer to that question, I must observe that repeatedly before the date of that letter and afterwards, I thought the remonstrances I made were sufficient, and therefore did not comply with the orders I received.

Whether the Rohilla nation consists of Mahometans or Hindoos?

I believe they are Hindoos.

Were they who cultivated the lands driven out of the country, or allowed to remain in it?

To the best of my remembrance, they were allowed to remain in it.

Were the Military part of the nation, excepting those who fell in battle, put to death, or only required to cross the Ganges ?

To the best of my remembrance, they were required only to cross the Ganges.

Lieutenant-Colonel Leslie called in, and the questions above entered being entered, he replies as follows, *viz.* :—

(1st) I would beg leave to distinguish between the real inhabitants and the acquired ones. By the acquired ones I mean the Rohillas or Afghans, who conquered the country and became the masters of it. I believe the Gentoo inhabitants were not oppressed, the ryots have been much cherished by him as they ever were under any former government, except at the time of the march of the army through their country, but that they returned to their plough immediately and seemed to be as happy as ever.

(2nd) The day before our march from Shawabad the country upon the opposite side of the river Gurrah was in flames, and upon my enquiry into the matter I learned it was by order of the Vizier that he had sent several detachments of his light-cavalry for that purpose, but I believe the inhabitants of those villages had withdrawn themselves from them and taken sanctuary at Shawjehanpore.

(3rd) I have already explained this : the Rohillas were the conquerors of the country, and a very different people from the native inhabitants, the Rohillas being Mussulmen and the native Hindus.

(4th) The native inhabitants, after I left Bissouly between that and Simbu, were all at their habitations and had returned to their cultivations of the country. When I went down towards the banks of the Ganges it was highly cultivated, but about Puttergur, which was the place of arms and retreat of the Rohillas before they retired to Loll Dong as their last resource, there was no cultivation but of sugar.

(5th) I protest I have heard a great deal of severity exercised on the families of the Chiefs of the Rohillas, but I cannot positively speak to any of them but from hearsay. I am afraid there was too much reason to give the world a liberty to say that they were ill-treated. There was one instance in which I thought it was necessary that I should interpose. I had been sent into Pellybeet,) where the wife and family of Hafiz Rhamut were, and after a series of conversation with his sons, at which Major Hannay and Mr. Murray were present, I had a message from the Begum to request that I would speak to her. I returned for answer that I was sorry it was out of my power, as my conduct was prescribed to me, but that I would receive my

message she would send to me. She sent her son in return to acquaint me that the business he wanted to speak to me on was to beg that I would intercede with Colonel Champion to protect her from any insult which might be offered her by the Vizier. In consequence of her request I went to Colonel Champion, and begged that he would give every sanction in his power and address the Vizier upon the occasion which the Colonel promised to do. This is the only occasion I had to apply to Colonel Champion on the subject. I hear that many others did exist. I have heard a great deal reported of this kind. I believe a great deal of it, and had reason to disbelieve a great deal, as the reports were so improbable I did not give ear to them. The message from the Begum mentioned no instance of severity or ill-treatment to her. At that time there would nothing have happened, as it was the very day we marched to Pellybeet.

(6th) Those are the.....vague reports which I wished in general to inform you of, but indeed there were particular ones which were attended with such circumstances that I could scarce give any credit to from the situation of the parties. There was a particular one at Bissouly, one of the daughters of the Rohilla Chief of that place, whom they said he had committed violence upon, and that she in consequence poisoned

herself, and knowing the situation of the Vizier at that time, I thought it almost impracticable which made me to give very little credit to the stories, which I heard at the time, of such a nature.

(7th) Upon my word, so little as I am acquainted with those points, I can't possibly give an opinion, but upon conjecture, and which every other person is fully as capable of as myself. But from the general character of this race of people, who took possession of that country from the native inhabitants, they made them till their ground, left them a subsistence, and kept the rest for themselves. I can't tell what their conduct was to their conquered enemies, as they conquered none within my knowledge of them, except the inhabitants of that country, whom, as I mentioned before, they kept in subjection

(8th) The Ganges running through the Rohilla country becomes at this time of the year, I believe in some places, fordable, and continues so till the end of March or beginning of April, at which time the snow melting upon the adjacent mountains swells the river, and it is not passable but by boats. There are several forts from Hardwagaut to Ramgaut ; they are all defensible, as is the country all down that side of the river, having in general very high banks ; the opposite side is quite flat, and is universally known to

people in the neighbourhood, because there is a continual intercourse between the countries on both sides of the river.

(9th) I don't believe if our army was posted there that the Mahrattas durst make an attempt to enter in by any part of that river, or any other power of Indostan. I mean by our army the brigade that was stationed there. If they did, it is very clear they might make a retreat, as our army could not come up with cavalry. If they should cross the river, it must be with their horses only; they could not have any equipage, appointments or subsistence, and it must be merely for a day, as they could not bring any appointments or subsistence along with them.

(10th) I can't possibly say with regard to the amount of the sum the Vizier possessed himself of, but report, I believe, made it a great deal more than it really was, though I am convinced it amounted to a very considerable sum; report made it from 1, 2 to 3 millions of money. I believe the principal articles of it to have consisted in bullion and specie. There were a number of camels and elephants, but these were very inconsiderable in comparison with the former.

The General (Clavering) now begs leave to propose some questions to Colonel Leslie:—

Q.—I observe that you mentioned in reply to the first question that the Vizier behaved well to the

ancient inhabitants, and I now desire to know how they behaved to the Rohillas?

A.—The prisoners who fell into the hands of the Vizier, which I believe to be very few, are now entertained in his service; there are some of the sons of Hafiz Rhanut, two particularly, whom I know and have often seen riding in his suit. He generally took one of these out with them all the time he was at Bissouly; their appearance was good, and I think the same as the rest of his cavalry, and they appeared contented, but no doubt he kept a watchful eye upon them.

Q.—Are there any fords lower than Ramgant on the Ganges?

A.—I am satisfied there are several fords between Ramgant and Illahabad. I have crossed at Illahabad frequently myself.

Question from the Governor (Mr. Hastings)—

Q.—What is the general breadth of the river from Hardwa to the southern extremity of the Rohilla country?

A.—I did not come down by river, but from Hardwa to Weynagaut (about 12 coss) the river appeared to be about as broad as at Calcutta. At Ramgant it is broader, and thence continues all the way downwards the same way and size as down Bahar, and interrupted by sands and islands. By the river I mean the body of water which, when I saw it, was about as broad as it is here.

Question by the General —

Q.—What is the distance from Shawbad, the frontier of the province of Oude to Lall Dong, the extremity of the Rohilla country?

A.—I believe it to be about two hundred miles.

Q.—Do you know the latitude of Lall Dong?

A.—The latitude I think is 30 degrees 48 minutes north.

Q.—How far do you reckon it to be from Lall Dong to Delhy?

A.—Delhy, I believe, is in 28.

Q.—Whilst the army was in the Rohilla country could it have prevented a Mahratta army entering the province of Bahar?

A.—The Mahrattas might have entered the province of Bahar by many inroads, as the brigade was at too great a distance to prevent them.

Q.—If a Mahratta army had entered the province of Bahar at that time do you know of any troops that could have opposed their coming to Cassembazar?

A.—If they made their entrance by the province of Corah, I really don't know what disposition the Vizier had made of his troops to oppose their passage. If they had come further down the country, I don't know of any troops nearer than Barrampore, nor what disposition Governor Hastings had made to oppose their passage to Cassembazar. Certainly, if the Vizier had not made a proper disposition to

his troops in the lower country, they could have penetrated as far as Cassembazar.

Questions by the Governor—

Q.—Did you hear of any Mahratta troops being in the country or near it, or expected there at the time our troops entered it?

A.—After our retreat to winter quarters there was a report that Fyzulla Cawn waited a junction of the Mahratta force and expected a considerable number of Mahratta troops, with whose aid he intended to take the field again, and I think the time he expected them to come was about the time that the river would become fordable, but the report lost its credit immediately from the divisions that existed among the Mahratta Chiefs.

Q.—Did the army consider the war in which they were engaged as one that did honour to the British name or such as disgraced it?

A.—I cannot answer for the opinion of others upon this subject, I can only answer for my own.

Q.—Who provided the contingencies of the army?

A.—The Commissary General. At the beginning of the campaign they were supplied by the Paymaster until the arrival of the Commissary General's Deputy.

Q.—Did you ever know in any army that the person who provided the contingencies had the control of them?

A.—There were many controls upon the persons who supplied the armies I have served in, but I do not recollect any agent of supplies controlling his own accounts.

Q.—Had you any map of the Rohilla country furnished by the Governor when you went to the army?

A.—No, I believe there were very few extant. I applied to the Governor for such as he had of the upper country, *i.e.*, of the upper parts of Bahar and province of Oudh, and he informed me the only one he had, he had promised to Captain Toone.

Q.—Do you know if Colonel Champion was furnished with maps of the country?

A.—I believe he had some maps of the country. I have seen scraps of them, but he did not communicate them to me.

Questions by Mr. Francis—

Q.—How long since the Rohillas have been established in that country?

A.—About fifty years.

Q.—When you were sent into Pellybeet did the Begum send the trinkets and ornaments of the women to you, desiring your acceptance of them, and what answer did you send her?

A.—The Begum did send her trinkets and ornaments. When Major Hannay and Mr. Murray and I were sent to Pellybeet we went as three Commissioners, in conjunction with three of the Viziers, to examine the treasury and search for military chests

of the beaten army. We searched the treasury and every other place, but the zenanas which we were forbid to enter. The women of the zenana sent their trinkets from a supposition that they were a part of the treasure, which we returned to them, acquainting them that we did not come in search of their trinkets, but for the treasure deposited there.

Q.—Did the Vizier afterwards take away more trinkets and ornaments from the women?

A.—I believe he did. I am pretty sure he did take them away the next day.

Q.—Was it the enormity of the reports circulated concerning the Vizier's conduct to the families of the Rohilla Chiefs which made you think them improbable?

A.—No, it was not; they were the circumstances of the reports.

Q.—Is not the Vizier, notwithstanding the unhappy state of his health, notoriously addicted to women and accustomed to gratify the sudden impulse of his passions at any rate?

A.—I believe he is as addicted to women as most people, and that he would go as far to gratify them.

Question by the Governor—

Q.—Was he at this time in a condition to gratify his passions?

A.—From the accounts I had of him I don't think he was.

Questions by Mr. Francis—

Q.—Do you believe the Vizier ever entered the zenanas of any of the Rohilla Chiefs?

A.—I don't know. I believe he did.

Q.—Is not the family of a noble Moor dishonoured by a man's forcibly entering the zenana and seeing the women?

A.—Yes, I believe it is.

Q.—Were you employed in our army in the year 1773, when it acted in defence of the Rohillas against the Mahrattas?

A.—No.

Q.—Did the Vizier make any suitable allowance for the maintenance of the families of the conquered Chiefs, or were they abandoned to distress and misery, for want of the common necessities of life, at any time?

A.—The Vizier has, I am told, settled allowances (Jaghiers), upon most of them, but I believe not sufficient to keep them in that way of life they are brought up in, but upon my word I don't know what distresses they have been brought to, as they are confined within forts, but the report of the world says they suffered great distress.

Q.—Did the Vizier make use of any, and what contrivances to possess himself of all the treasure in the treasuries of the chief towns to the exclusion of the English troops?

A.—The Vizier took all the treasure he could find in the towns without regard to the Company's troops.

Q.—Was it the English troops or those of the Vizier which conquered the Rohilla country?

A.—I believe the Company's troops were the principal of the conquest, and I am sure they were.

Q.—Is the Vizier able to defend and secure his new conquest without the constant presence of our brigade in the Rohilla country?

A.—If you confine it merely to that, his own troops will be sufficient to defend it.

Q.—How far is Ramgaut from the frontiers of Oude?

A.—About 70 or 80 English miles.

Q.—When you were sent to join the brigade were you informed of the object of the expedition, that is, whether it was to invade or to defend the Rohillas?

A.—I knew it was ordered to join the 2nd brigade and Sujah-ul-Dowlah's army, but I did not know the nature of the service in which I was to be employed.

Q.—Was it commonly said or believed in the country that the Rohillas had been sacrificed to the Vizier by the English Government?

A.—No, I never heard it, but the Rohillas said if we had not been in conjunction with Sujah-ul-Dowlah, they would have been an equal match for him, and it was owing to the power of the English troops that he conquered them.

Questions by the General—

Q.—Were the Rohilla Chiefs, who you said were now confined, taken in battle, or did they surrender themselves by capitulation?

A.—They surrendered at discretion.

Q.—How long do you suppose the army would be on marching from Lall Dong to Calcutta?

A.—Near three months, two at least.

Colonel Leslie desires time to consider further on this last question, and as it becomes a part of his duty, he will do it with the greatest exactness.

The Governor desires to add this question for Colonel Leslie's consideration.

In what time he imagines a whole brigade, or part of it, would be able upon an emergency to come to Calcutta by water at the different seasons of the year, and Colonel Leslie is desired to consider this question in its full extent.

Major Hannay called in—

To the first question.—To the best of my knowledge, I saw no signs of oppression to the inhabitants of the new conquered country, but from particular enquiries which I had an opportunity of making of the country people they said they had met with no treatment that they could complain of; that from the treatment they had met with they had no reason to fear greater severity from the Vizier than their former masters.

To the second question.—I believe both the Vizier and the Rohillas were concerned in burning the villages. I was informed that some days before our arrival at Shawbad the

Rohillas had burned some villages towards Mamy in the Vizier's ancient dominions.

To the third question.—I have learned from many people that it is only within 50 years that the Rohillas have become masters of the country to the north of the Ganges; that they were originally Afghans, came to Indostan under a Sirdar named Daud Cawn, and that they conquered that country from the Hindoos, and that since that time they have followed no other profession than that of arms, and the ancient Hindoos have cultivated the country; the Rohillas are Mussulmen of the sect of Omah, and that the cultivators of the country are Hindoos. I suppose the proportion to be about 9 Hindoos to 1 Mussulman.

To the fourth question.—Several of the native inhabitants of course had followed the Rohillas to Pattergur and Lall Dong, but the proportion of them was very small and several of them to my knowledge returned, before the war was finished, to their former habitations. At the time that I went upon an expedition from Bissouly to Sumbul, Moradabad and Rampore, the country appeared to be in good cultivation—the inhabitants were employed in tilling it. It is in general one of the best cultivated countries I have seen in Indostan, and very well inhabited, and the people appeared to be as busy at this time as if there had been a profound peace, and under no kind of apprehension from the conquerors. At or some time after the battle of St. George, Engee Cawn was returning from Delhy to join his master the Vizier, and had taken possession of all the country from Anopshare and Ramgaut to Rampore, and established Fousdars and Collectors of the revenues of it before the arrival of our army at Bissouly; and to maintain

these Fousdars in the execution of their duty it was only necessary to leave 500 Nudjiff Cawns there and 5 companies of regular Sepoys and some hundreds of the Burrah Fultan, in all not amounting to 1,500 men, who kept the country in perfect quietness until our army arrived and after the march of our army to Puttergur.

To the fifth question.—I was generally informed, and from my own observations I am led to believe, that he treated them with a great deal of severity, for instance, he deprived them of all the ornamental part of their dress, and did not provide them with such accommodations as I thought their rank entitled them to expect. The reports that prevailed in camp were various, but were not conveyed to me from such authority as to warrant my offering them to the Board.

Mr. Francis begs leave to propose the following question in this place, as it has immediate relation to the last.

Q.—Do you know, or have you heard, whether they were at any time reduced to distress for want even of a subsistence?

A.—I have heard that their subsistence was scanty, but this is one of the reports I have heard and have not been able to ascertain the truth of to my own satisfaction.

To the sixth question —I have heard, while I was at Bis-souly frequently, that he had violated one of the daughters of Mohboola Cawn, but I never gave credit to it: nay I believe it impossible from the state of health he was in at that time. I may say further that when I heard this report I was at a good deal of pains to investigate the truth of it, and tracing

it back I could carry it no further than it was a report that prevailed among the guard at the door of the zenana, and from the situation of this guard to the zenana it was impossible they could be acquainted with any circumstances that past within, as the apartments of the women were at such a distance from the gateway where the guards were placed. There was another motive which induced me to disbelieve the report, which was that a few days after this happened the women were carried to camp, where he would have a much better opportunity of doing it, without detection, had he been disposed to it or able.

Question by Mr. Francis—

Q.—Do you know or believe that the Vizier entered the zenanas of the wives of any of the Rohilla Chiefs?

A.—It is impossible for me to answer, with any degree of precision, for the zenanas being spacious places, consisting of many apartments, many of which are not occupied by women. I never knew of his going into any of them at Pellybeet. I can positively say he did not, for he never went into the town of Pellybeet. At Bissouly I have heard that he went frequently into the zenana there, but to the best of my remembrance it was after the women were removed to camp, and that he was fitting up the zenana for the reception of his own family, during the time he was going to Puttergur.

To the seventh question.—Their national character has in general been the want of sincerity, to elucidate which I

beg leave to mention one instance. At the time that Mahomed Ally was their Chief, he prevailed upon the Almora Rājā and the other hill Rājās to assist him in his rebellion against the King Mahomed Shaw; that they did assist him with 20,000 men; that upon the approach of the imperial army they found themselves so much inferior in point of strength that they judged it imprudent to give him battle, and prevailed upon the Almorah Raja to admit them into his country the access to which is so strong that a small number of troops may defend the pass against a very numerous army. They continued there till an invasion of the Mahratta required that the army of the Empire should be returned against them. As soon as ever the army of the Empire quitted the Rohilla country, then the Rohillas seized the country of the Almorah Raja, their ally carried most of the handsomest women of the country captives, among others the daughter of the Raja whom Ally Mahomed took himself, and she was the mother of the present Fyzulla Cawn. This is mentioned as an instance of their insincerity; further, it is a proverb in Indostan that they pray with one hand and rob with the other. Their manner of making war is much the same as is practised all over Indostan; towards their conquered enemies they have generally been bloody; those whom they have saved, they commonly made captives of, and in the late campaign I have been very well assured by many of the prisoners that their intention towards us were very bloody, that they had orders to give no quarters.

To the eighth question.—I have never understood that it was fordable at any place below Anopshuri, and I have taken great pain to make myself acquainted with your subject by enquiries of Nudjiff Cawn, and, after the war was

finished, of many of the Rohillas. I have understood that it is easy forded at no place, but in the month of March and beginning of April it may be forded at several places between Hardwa and Anopshuri, but it is not fordable long after that period on account of the meeting of the snows and rising of the rivers. I have been told by Nudjiff Cawn that he was astonished at the Rohillas suffering the Mahrattas to cross the Ganges when he invaded the country of Zabita Cawn to the mouths of the Ganges, as he assured me that every one of the fords might easily have been defended. I was with the Vizier a few days after they had crossed the Ganges, and he blamed the Sirdars very much for suffering them, using this expression, "He was sure Zabita Cawn was not the son of old Nazim O'Dowlah, or he would not have suffered them to cross the Ganges." It is the general opinion of all the Indostan soldiers with whom I have talked on the subject that the Ganges is not to be forded but by surprise; the fords are very well known.

To the ninth question.—I think it would be so dangerous an enterprize that they would hardly undertake it; and if they did in case of a defeat, they would be totally ruined, having but a small tract of country to march over before they came to the Ganges, and if a victorious army pursued them closely, they must either perish in it or fall by the sword.

To the tenth question.—I believe it impossible to ascertain what the sum is, but it is generally supposed, and I do verily believe, to have been considerable, consisting chiefly in specie, plates, and jewels; by considerable I mean upwards of a crore of rupees. This is my opinion; others have estimated the sum at a great deal more.

To the eleventh question.—I recollect to have learnt from Sir Robert Barker that when he marched up to Ramgaut with the Viziers to the assistance of the Rohillas, and had come near to the Mahratta army, their conduct was so doubtful and had so much the appearance of treachery, that he had come to a resolution of attacking them if they did not fully declare themselves by their actions; and to the best of my remembrance he would have done it, but that he was misled by a guide. But this is a question which Colonel Champion or Colonel Goddard can better reply to, as they were present; I was not, but only heard it from General Sir Robert Barker.

Questions by the General—

Q.—Do you know who has the commission to receive Nudjiff Cawn's pension which is to be paid by this Presidency?

A.—It is a question I cannot well reply to. I know whom he intended to appoint his agent, but the confirmation of the appointment I understood depended on the Governor.

Q.—Who was the person intended with the Government approbation?

A.—I was.

Q.—What were you to receive for it?

Major Hannay ordered to withdraw.

The Governor General observes that the questions which he proposed, and which were assented to by the Board, related only to the Rohilla war, but the questions now put by the General tend to reveal some transaction of Major Hannay himself, which, if of a private and lawful nature, the Board have

no right to enquire into, and if of an unlawful nature, they ought not to be put to Major Hannay himself; he therefore objects to this question being put.

Mr. Francis.—I think the question proper and necessary, and that the Board have a right to make the enquiry. I cannot suppose that Major Hannay has done anything criminal in this business, because the intended appointment was to have the sanction of the Governor, and had been communicated to him by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army.

Mr. Barwell thinks the question improper; it has no public object, and therefore objects to it. Mr. Monson sees no impropriety in putting the question to Major Hannay, as he understands that these gentlemen were called before the Board to give the most ample information, and cannot suppose that there was anything improper in the appointment of Major Hannay to be Agent to Nudjiff Cawn, as it was to receive the Governor's sanction.

Resolved, that the question be put.

Major Hannay called in again and the question put to him.

A.—I have long known Nudjiff Cawn; he is a man for whom I entertain a friendship, and should embrace any consistent opportunity to testify my friendship to him. I wish to explain what I mean by the Governor's confirmation of his intention of appointing me his Agent. I thought it was improper to accept of that appointment without having first applied for and obtained leave from the Commander-in Chief and the Governor, not thinking myself an adequate judge how far it was proper for me to undertake such an office.

Question by the Governor—

Q.—I desire Major Hannay may inform the Board what answer he received from me, either directed to himself or the Commander-in-Chief?

A.—I don't positively recollect what the answer was, but I think it was that there was no money due at that time to Nudjiff Cawn, but when the Governor should be acquainted with the pleasure of the Court of Directors, he would then determine whether the Jaghier was to be paid, and in the meantime it was needless to confirm an appointment which might never be exercised.

Questions by the General—

Q.—Do you not know that Colonel Champion made representations to the Vizier of cruelties exercised by his troops in the Rohilla country?

A.—I have heard Colonel Champion say that he had remonstrated to the Vizier against the burning of any villages, but I was not present at any such remonstrance. I further heard him say that he had used his offices with the Vizier to persuade him to treat the captive families of the Rohilla Chiefs with more humanity and tenderness, and that upon these occasions the Vizier denied having treated them with severity.

Q.—Do you imagine that Colonel Champion would have made such representations to the Vizier if he had not been persuaded that the facts were true?

A.—The burning of the villages was evident, and I can say with confidence that Colonel Champion would

not have made application to the Vizier for the remedy of evils which he did not believe to exist.

Q.—Whether you don't think that the Commander of the army was in a situation to be better informed of transactions of that nature than yourself?

A.—With respect to the burning of the villages and matters of that nature, with all deference to the Commander-in-Chief, I humbly conceive that I had a good opportunity of being acquainted as any one. With respect to the treatment of the captive families, I conceive he must have had better opportunities of information than me, as he might have received letters from them on the subject, which I did not.

Q.—Whether you imagine that the army, whilst it was in the Rohilla country, could have prevented the Mahrattas from entering the Behar province by the country of Corah?

A.—I understand that the Mahrattas must come into the Corah country by the Culpee Ghaut, and as their march from their own country to Culpee is a very considerable greater distance than our army would have had time enough to oppose their passage of the Jumna.

Q.—Was the brigade complete when it entered the field, particularly the Europeans?

A.—Not quite complete.

Q.—How was it by the last returns you have seen?

A.—Not quite complete.

Q.—How many men did the European battalion want?

A.—I will send a particular account to-morrow from the latest returns I have seen.

Q.—What troops had you belonging to the Company and the brigade establishment?

A.—The latter part of the campaign, the troop of cavalry; we had also two companies of Grenadier sepoy from the 3rd Brigade.

Q.—Whether the cadets form part of the effective strength of the 2nd Regiment or not?

A.—It was only in October last that they joined the regiment. They did duty before with the sepoy grenadier corps; they are not included in the establishment.

Q.—Who supplied the contingencies of the army?

A.—At the beginning of the campaign they were furnished by the Paymaster, but latterly by the Commissary General.

Q.—Is it usual for the same person to supply contingencies and to control the account of them?

A.—I don't recollect any instances of it in Europe.

Questions by Colonel Monson—

Q.—What induced the Vizier to enter the zenana at Bis-souly after the women had been removed from it?

A.—To look for treasure was his first motive, and to set up the zenana for his own women was his secondary.

Q.—When you went as an Agent in behalf of the army into the Fort of Pillybeet to look for treasure, were you precluded from going into the zenana?

A.—I was.

Q.—Do you imagine if you had been allowed to have gone into the zenana, you would have found treasure?

A.—I do imagine I should have found some as I was informed by a son of Hafiz Rhamut Khan that there were some thousands rupees there. I think about 10,000.

Questions by Mr. Francis—

Q.—Do you conceive the country of the Rohillas to be completely and quietly reduced to the Vizier's subjection?

A.—I do.

Q.—Do you apprehend that it is necessary for the English troops to remain there, in order to secure and establish the Vizier's Government over his new subjects?

A.—I do not consider it as absolutely necessary that they should continue in that country, but it would be of great advantage to the Vizier's affairs, that they should be in some part of the Province of Oudh, the nearer the frontiers, the more it would contribute to the Vizier's advantage.

Question by the Governor—

Q.—Do you imagine that the possession of the Rohilla country would be at this time in danger by the opinion that it might be invaded without any interruption or opposition from the English brigade?